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THE
DUTCH
Better FRIENDS than the
FRENCH,
TO THE
Monarchy, Church, and Trade
OF
ENGLAND.

In a LETTER from a CITIZEN
to a COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

By

John The Fourth Edition. W. H. S.

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THE
DUTCH
Better FRIENDS than the
FRENCH, &c.

SIR,



WHEN I reflect upon Her Majesties Speech to her Two Houses of Parliament, but this very last Session, in which she declar'd her Own Interest to be inseparable from that of the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*; 'tis not without a Mixture of Indignation and Surprize that I hear those very People, who would be thought the Queen's best, if not her only Friends, most passionately desiring the Ruin and Destruction of that very Interest, with which that of Her Majesty is so inseparably united. When I consider what Arts have been made use of, by some profligate Scriblers, to disguise real Truth, and scatter Lyes among the Mob, I am not much surpriz'd, if Plowmen and Mechanicks, if such as never read a History, or saw a Map, should be wheedled into a fond Imagination, as if their Protestant Allies and best Friends were now become their most-suspected Rivals, if not their most dangerous Enemies: But, that you, Sir, who have had an Education above the Vulgar, who, 'tis to be hoped, have had your Views extended beyond the Stable and the Dog-kennel, that such as you should be for aggrandizing of the *French*, and look upon *Holland* as the only formidable Neighbour that we have; this is what, I confess, amazes and confounds me. I make no Question, but that *France* has her Emissaries both in *England* and *Holland*, whose Business it is to foment Divisions, to

exasperate one Nation against the other, that so, by their mutual Quarrels and Contentions, they may both fall a Sacrifice to her Ambition. Should the two Maritime Powers be so far abandon'd of Common Reason, as to dash against each other, they must both necessarily be broken in pieces, and furnish their watchful Enemy with an Opportunity to triumph in their Destruction. This being the state of our Affairs, and we having a restless Faction in the midst of us, who by Calumnies, Misrepresentations, and lying Pamphlets endeavour to possess the Minds of the Common People with cruel Prejudices against their old Allies and Friends, I cannot but look upon it the Duty of every one that loves his Country, to endeavour, in his Station, the quenching those Flames which these Incendiaries are so active to kindle. To this End I have diverted my self a little, in drawing up an Answer to those Objections, which, as you inform me, are in the Mouths of almost every Peasant and Mechanick. You will find, that my Arguments are all grounded on Matter of Fact, and that I have advanc'd nothing for which I have not produc'd my Authors, and such as are of a most establish'd Reputation. What Interpretation may be put by some on this Essay, I cannot tell; my Design, I am sure, is just and honourable, to disabuse the Ordinary sort of People; to let 'em see how grossly they have been impos'd upon by the Partisans of *France* and the Pretender; that so it may not be in the Power of our *new Allies* to make us fall out with our *old Friends*, but that we may be united in Affections, as well as we are in Interest.

1 *Obj.* The first Popular Objection against the *Dutch*, which you were pleas'd to take notice of, is this; That *they are Men of Antimonarchical Principles; That they countenance and abett a Republican Faction here at home, who only wait an Opportunity to subvert the Constitution, and erect a Commonwealth upon the Ruin of it.* As to the latter part of this Accusation, it has nothing in the World but Noise and Clamour to support it. In all my Conversation, never did I hear one single Man deny the English Form of Government to be the best in the whole World; And could any such Criminal Correspondence, as is suggested, be prov'd against the *Whiggs*, you may depend upon it, the Nation would quickly ring of the Discovery. 'Tis true, the Inhabitants of the United Provinces are Members of a Republick; they were born and educated in a Commonwealth, and 'tis very probable, may admire their own Constitution, looking upon it as most convenient for them in their Circumstances: But have we any Reason to be angry with them on this

account? I am confident, you will determine in the Negative, when you consider, (1.) that their casting themselves at first into such a Model was the Effect, not of Choice, but absolute Necessity. (2.) That they have manifested themselves better Friends than the *French*, to the English Monarchy in general, and to the Person of Queen *ANN* in particular. (3.) If we are angry with them because they have a different Government from us, we must, for the same Reason, be angry with all Mankind.

I *Ans.* I affirm in the first place, that when the *Hollanders* form'd themselves into a Commonwealth, this was Matter of Necessity rather than of Choice. 'Tis not consistent with the intended Brevity of these Papers, to enter into a Detail of the Rise, Progress, and Conclusion of the *Low-Country* Wars; let it suffice at present to remind you, that the United Provinces were once Subjects to the King of *Spain*: That the Invasion of their Civil Liberties, and the inhuman Cruelties which those of the Reform'd Religion suffer'd, provok'd the poor Inhabitants to take up Arms in their own defence, and to withstand those Instruments of Cruelty that were made use of to oppress 'em. After many Tumults and Confusions, there was a Convention of the Estates at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1581, in which 'twas determin'd, That *Philip* King of *Spain*, by invading their Privileges, and overthrowing their Constitution, had forfeited his Right to govern those Provinces; or, to use a modern Dialect, That he had broken the *Original Contract*, and the Throne was become vacant. But instead of moulding themselves into a Commonwealth, they at the same time elected the Duke of *Alanson*, younger Brother to the King of *France*, to be their Sovereign (a). This Prince accepted their Invitation; but being influenc'd more by Humour and Caprice than by the Maxims of Policy and Wisdom, and being guilty of an unaccountable odd Conduct, he quickly lost the Affections of his new Subjects. When he perceiv'd this, he retir'd into *France*, and quickly after died there. The Provinces being once more without a supreme Governour, they offer next to transfer their Allegiance to our Renowned Queen *Elizabeth*. (b) She refus'd indeed to accept of this Proposal, but afforded them a very generous Assistance, and continued their Friend and Patroness to the Day of her Death. By this Account, Sir, you may see, that when the *Dutch* form'd themselves at first into

(a) Vide *Stradam de Bello Belgico*, Decas p. 2. 179. *Bentivoglio's Hist. of Flanders*, p. 172.

(b) *Cambden's Hist. of Q. Elizabeth*, p. 320, Ed. 4.

into a Commonwealth, 'twas because they could not obtain a King or Queen of their own, who was able and willing to protect 'em; and their erecting a Republick was a Matter rather of Necessity than Choice.

2 *Ans.* I am next to prove, that the *Dutch* have manifested themselves better Friends than the *French* to the *British* Monarchy. And here I hope you will allow this to be a true Maxim, that *A Friend is known in Adversity*: This distinguishes a real Friend from a perfidious Flatterer, just as Fire separates Dross from Gold. Who is there that will not flatter and caress a King, while he maintains his Dignity, and is able to raise those to Honour and Preferment who can insinuate themselves into his Affections? But certainly, he best deserves the Name of *Friend*, who faithfully adheres unto him in his Distress, and espouses the Royal Interest when at the lowest ebb. Now, 'twas not many Years ago that the *English* Monarchy was overthrown by *Cromwel* and his Faction, the Royal Family banish'd, and *K. Charles* the Second forc'd to wander up and down the World in an uncomfortable Exile: And if in these Circumstances he was treated with more Civility and Respect in *Holland* than in *France*, I hope you will allow that I have fairly prov'd my Assertion. The Witness which I produce to this Purpose is above all Exception; 'tis the renowned Lord *Clarendon*, a Person who attended his Royal Master in all his Motions beyond the Seas, and writes of those things which he saw with his own Eyes.

We will first see what Manner of Friends the *French* were to the *British* Monarchy during our late intestine Wars. And here we are assured by this noble Historian, "that the Rebellion had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced by them (a); that the French, according to their Nature, were active and intent upon blowing the Fire; that the Commotions in *Scotland* had been raised by the special Encouragement, if not the Contrivance of Cardinal *Richelieu*; And that the French Ambassador Monsieur *la Ferté* disssembled not to have notable Familiarity with those who govern'd most in the two Houses, and that he took all Opportunities to lessen and undervalue the King's Regal Powers, (b) and had done the King all imaginable Disservice (c): And is not this a Convincing Evidence of that Respect and Veneration these People bear to the *English* Crown?

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(a) *Clarendon's History*, vol. 3, p. 5.
p. 307.

(b) *Ibid.* vol. 2, p. 71.

(c) *Ibid.*

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Let us next see their Carriage towards the Person of King *Charles* the Second, who was forc'd to live some time as a Refugee amongst 'em, both during the Imprisonment of his Father, whilst only Prince of *Wales*, and after his Father's Murder, when he enjoy'd the empty Title of a King. Here the Lord *Clarendon* assures us, "it can hardly be believ'd, with
 " how little Respect they treated him, during the whole time
 " of his stay there (a). That he was never Master of ten *Pistoles*
 " to dispose of as he desir'd (b). And when there were Vigorous Efforts made, both in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to rescue King *Charles* the First from his Captivity, and prevent the Subversion of the Government; when the Royal Party had their Expectation very much rais'd, the Prime Minister in *France* " was
 " so far from giving any Countenance or Warmth to their
 " blooming Hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the
 " destroying them, but the Imprisoning the Prince (c). These were the Civilities he met with in *France* whilst Prince of *Wales*; nor was the Case alter'd, except for the worse, when by his Father's Death the Title of King was devolv'd upon him. Thus our Noble Author informs us, "That as the King had
 " receiv'd no kind of Civility from *France* since his last coming, so it was notorious enough that his Absence was impatiently desir'd by that Court: That tho' he had not been
 " in any degree chargeable unto them, yet he was an Unwelcome Guest (d). When His Majesty first came to *Paris*, he had a little Room allow'd him, in which the English Liturgy was read to him and his Protestant Attendants, but this was quickly taken from him; "Which, said the Lord *Clarendon*,
 " was another Instance of the King's extream-low Condition,
 " and of the Highest Disrespect the Court of *France* could express towards him (e). When *Cromwel* turn'd the Rump Parliament out of doors, and set up himself Protector, there was an endearing Correspondence between Him and the Prime Minister of *France*, "and such mutual Offices perform'd between
 " them, as, with frequent Evidences of Aversion from the
 " King and his Interest, made it very manifest to His Majesty,
 " that his Residence would not be suffer'd to continue longer
 " in *France* (f): So that there could be no Doubt but that
 " the King was heartily weary of being in a place where he
 " was so ill treated; where he liv'd so uncomfortably, and
 " from whence he foresaw that he should soon be driven (g):
 "Tis

(a) *Clarendon's History*, vol. 3, p. 26. (b) *Ibid.* p. 88. (c) *Ibid.* p. 155.
 (d) *Ibid.* p. 251. (e) *Ibid.* p. 304. (f) *Ibid.* p. 393. (g) *Ibid.* p. 393.

'Tis true, when there was a Prospect of his being restor'd to his Kingdoms, the King of *France* sent him a Compliment, and invited him to pass thro' his Territories; but the King knew that Nation too well to trust his Royal Person among 'em. " In the mean time it was no small Pleasure to His Majesty, to " find himself so solemnly invited, by the Ministers of a Great " King, to enter his Dominions, out of which he had been re- " jected with so many Disobligations and Indignities (a).

This, Sir, was the Entertainment which *K. Charles* the Second met with in the Court of the present French King, who, you must remember, was his near Kinsman, they two being Brothers and Sisters Children. And I must leave it to your maturer Thoughts, whether the *British* Monarchy may be more secure by an Alliance with such a Nation, than with other States and Provinces.

Let us now see, whether our banish'd Monarch met with fairer Quarters amongst the injur'd and revil'd *Dutch*. His first Arrival in *Holland* was during the Imprisonment of his Father, when, we are told, " That Prince was receiv'd by the States " with all outward Respect, and treated by them for four " or five Days, at their Charge; His Royal Highness every " Night lodging in the Palace which belong'd to the States " too (b). Whilst he was a Sojourner in *Holland*, the fatal News of his Father's execrable Murder was brought over into these Provinces. Now, if the *Dutch* had such an implacable Aversion to Monarchy, as some would fain make the World believe they have, they would have rejoic'd in this Change of Government amongst us: But, says that Noble Author I have so often cited, " The Truth is, it can hardly be conceiv'd with " what a Consternation this terrible News was receiv'd by all, " even by the Common People of that Country: There was " a Woman at the *Hague*, of the Middle Rank, who being " with Child, with the Horrour of the mention of it, fell into " Travail, and in it died. There could not be more Evidence " of a general Detestation than there was, amongst all Men, " of what Quality soever. Within two or three Days, which " they gave to the King's Recollection, the States presented " themselves in a body to His Majesty, to condole with him " for the Murder of his Father, in Terms of great Sorrow. " The States of *Holland* apart perform'd the same Civility to- " wards His Majesty; and the body of the [*Presbyterian*] Cler- " gy, in a Latin Oration deliver'd by the Chief Preacher of " the

(a) *Clarendon's Hist.* p. 598.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 127.

“ the *Hague*, lamented the Misfortune, in terms of as much
 “ Asperity, and Detestation of the Actors, as unworthy of the
 “ Name of *Christians*, as could be express’d (a). Whilst his
 Majesty was at the *Hague*, the Parliament of *England* sent over
 one Dr. *Doriflaus* as their Agent, to propose a near Alliance be-
 tween the two *Republicks*. While he was at Supper in a pub-
 lick Inn, some Scottish Gentlemen came into the Room where
 he was, and dragging him from the Table, stabb’d him to the
 Heart, and made their Escape. Now it cannot be denied,
 let the Man be what he will, but that his publick Character
 should have skreen’d him from any Insult. This was without
 Dispute a barbarous Outrage, and an Indignity to the Govern-
 ment under whose Protection they all were. Had the *States*
 been inclin’d to deal roughly with his Majesty, this Accident
 had given them a very plausible Handle, the Murder being
 committed by some of his Subjects. But, “ It cannot be de-
 “ ny’d, but the *States* proceeded upon these Disorders, to which
 “ they had not been accusom’d, with great Gravity, and more
 “ than ordinary Respect to the King (b). During his Abode
 in *Holland*, he was invited by his Scottish Subjects to come into
 that Kingdom, who engag’d (tho’ upon Terms a little too severe)
 to recognize him as their Sovereign, and assist him in recover-
 ing the rest of his Dominions. When the Agreement was ful-
 ly made, and the Terms adjusted, “ The *States of Holland* suf-
 “ fer’d their Ships to transport him, they gave all Countenance
 “ to the Scottish Merchants and Factors who liv’d in their Do-
 “ minions, and some secret Credit, that they might send Arms
 “ and Ammunition, and whatsoever else was necessary for the
 “ King’s Service, into that Kingdom (c). And sure this does
 not look like the Conduct of Men that were envious at his Ex-
 altation. I need not recount unto you his Majesty’s Misfor-
 tunes at *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, nor his miraculous Escape be-
 yond the Seas, after he had conceal’d himself in Woods and
 Barns, and other obscure places. When he had spent many
 Years in a tedious Exile, and his Case seem’d to be desperate,
 what by the Zeal of his Friends, what by the Folly and Rash-
 ness of his Enemies, but above all by the Providence of GOD,
 the Nation became generally inclin’d to return to their old
 Form of Government. The People being in this good Dispo-
 sition, his Majesty thought it Prudence to draw near the Sea-
 B Shoar,

(a) *Clarendon's Hist.* vol. 3, p. 215, 216. (b) *Ibid.* p. 229. (c) *Ibid.* p. 287.

Shoar, and tho' he was invited by the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, to make some stay in their Dominions, yet he rather chose to trust himself amongst the Republican *Dutch-men*, than either of the others. Accordingly he came to *Breda*, where he resided till Things were ready for his Reception in *England*. You have heard of the Grief and Consternation with which the Ruin of our Monarchy was receiv'd by the *Hollanders*; let us next see how these People were affected at its Restoration. "All Things (says the *Ld Clarendon*) being in readines, and "the *States* having sent their Yachts, and other Vessels, as near "to *Breda* as the River would permit, the King, with his Royal "Sister and Brothers, left that Place in the beginning of *May*, "and within an Hour, embark'd themselves on board the "Yachts, which carry'd him to *Rotterdam*, *Dort*, and the other "places near which they passed, making all those Expressions "of Joy, by the Conflux of the People, to the Banks of the "River, and all other Ways, which the Situation of those places "would suffer. At *Rotterdam* they enter'd into their Coaches, "from whence to the *Hague* they seem'd to pass thro' one con- "tinued Street, by the wonderful and orderly Appearance of "the People on both sides, with such Acclamations of Joy, as "if themselves were now restor'd to Peace and Security. The "Entrance into the *Hague*, and their Reception there, and the "conducting his Majesty to the House provided for his Enter- "tainment, was very magnificent. The Treatment of his Ma- "jesty, and all who had relation to his Service, at the *States* "Charge, during the time of his Abode there, which continued "many Days, was incredibly noble and splendid; and the uni- "versal Joy so visible and real, that it could only be exceeded "by that of his own Subjects (a).

Upon the whole, be pleas'd to compare the Civilities King *Charles* met with in *Holland*, with the Indignities offer'd him by the *French* Court, and then let Reason say which of these two Nations were best affected to our Monarchy when in Distress, which is the surest Test of Friendship. Reflect upon that unfeigned Sorrow which the *Dutch* manifested on the Death of the Father, that universal Joy which diffus'd it self throughout the *Seven Provinces* upon the Restoration of the Son, and then let me ask you whether we have any Reason to conclude them such Enemies to crown'd Heads and the *British* Monarchy, as they have been represented by a pack of mercenary Scriblers in the midst of us.

As

(a) *Clarendon's History*, vol. 3, p. 599.

As the *Dutch* have manifested themselves better Friends than the *French* to the *British* Monarchy in general, so to the Person of Queen *ANN* in particular. This is a thing so evident to all the World, that there is no need of many Words to prove it. No sooner had they Notice of her Access to the Throne, but they order'd their Minister to own her Title, and court her Friendship, and are still desirous of a strict Alliance with her. On the other hand, the *French*, for many Years, gave her no other Title than *Princess of Denmark*. They own'd another Person as King of *Great Britain*, and to support his Pretensions, invaded her Dominions, and have done as much as in them lies to wrest the Sceptre out of her Hand, and to pull her out of that Throne on which she hath shone with so much Glory. Nay, since the Treaty of *Utrecht* hath been set on foot, and since the Grand Monarch hath receiv'd from our Queen greater Obligations than he ever merited, or had any great Reason to hope for, yet in the Preliminary Articles, sign'd here by *Mefnager*, and in the specifick Explanation of the said Articles, delivered by his Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, he only promises to acknowledge at the signing of the Peace, the Queen of *Great Britain* in that Quality. Upon which the House of Lords represented in an Address to her Majesty, " The just Indignation of that " House, at the dishonourable Treatment of her Majesty by " *France*, in having propos'd to acknowledge her Majesty's " Title to these Realms no sooner than when the Peace shall be " sign'd (a). Nor can I understand that to this very Day he has by any Authentick Declaration own'd her Title. These things consider'd, methinks it should be no difficult Matter to determine, whether the *French* or *Dutch* are the best Friend to the Person of Queen *ANN*.

3 *Ans.* To conclude, if we are angry with the *Dutch* because they do not live under the same form of Government that we do, we must, for the same Reason, quarrel with the whole World, and bid Defiance to all Mankind. My Reason is, because there is no other Nation that has the same Constitution that we have, nor, I believe, so well adapted to the Happiness of the People. If we curse the *Dutch* for having no *King*, we may as well curse the *French* for having no *Parliament*, whose Consent is necessary to the enacting Laws, or raising Money. Had the *Hollanders* attempted to obtrude their own Model upon us, we had some Reason to be angry with them,

B 2

but

(a) Annals of Queen ANN, vol. 10. p. 357.

but this they never did. I might add, that the Prince whose Conduct you so much admire, even the Grand Monarch himself, trusts his Person to the care of his *Swiss* Guards, that is, of Men born and bred in a *Commonwealth*, and under a Government as Antimonarchical as *Holland*. This is a Demonstration that Men may be Republicans in their own Country, and yet be true and faithful to a Crown'd Head in other places.

2 *Obj.* A second Prejudice that has been industriously fomented against the *Dutch* is, That *they are Presbyterians, and Enemies to the Church of England*. And, under this Pretence, no Curses are thought too bitter for them. 'Tis true, there is a Notion lately started that robs all the Protestant Churches abroad, and a very large part of our own here at home, of their very *Christianity*. To this purpose 'tis asserted, That Baptism is absolutely necessary to make us Christians; that none but such as are Episcopally ordain'd can administer this Ordinance; that the Baptism of others is but Lay-Baptism, and this is invalid and good for nothing; whence it follows that *foreign Protestants* and *domestick Dissenters* are no Christians. I shall not at present insist upon it, that this is a Conceit that paganizes abundance of the Establish'd Church, even of the Clergy themselves; such, for instance, as were born before the Restoration, or of Dissenting Parents since. But there is another Mischiefe, the Scheme which these Gentlemen are erecting looks with an untoward Aspect upon their dear Friends the *French* as well as others. In all Popish Countries, the Midwives are not only allow'd, but even enjoyn'd to Baptize such newborn Infants as have any dangerous Symptoms upon them. This you may find determin'd in the *Trent* Catechism, which adds, that those Midwives are by no means to be censur'd, who Baptize an Infant, tho' one of the other Sex should be present, if the Man be not so well skill'd in the way and manner of administering this Sacrament as the Woman (a). That these Females may be duly qualify'd, they are usually taught to pronounce the Latin Words which the Priest makes use of; this I suppose gave birth to that Custom of Midwives taking out of Licenses from the Bishop of the Diocess. In the Year 1680, the present *French* King publish'd an Edict, in which he forbid all those of the Reformed Religion to perform the Office of a Midwife to any Woman whatsoever. The Reason assign'd for such a Decree was this, that the *Hereticks*, not looking upon Baptism

(a) Vid. Catechism. ad Parachos, p. 188.

Baptism as necessary to Salvation, a great many poor Infants went out of the World without it (a); whereas the Catholick Gossips could be serviceable to Soul and Body too. 'Tis true, if the Infant survives, he is brought to Church, where the Priest crosses his Forehead, spits in his Mouth, and plays a thousand gambol Tricks, but never pretends to rebaptize it. 'Tis certain that many, who in their Infancy have Fits and other Disorders, do yet live to be old Men, and no doubt but some of these come to be Priests and Bishops, but according to the Doctrine lately started, their Baptisms and Ordinations must be all absolute Nullities, for he that is no Christian can never be a Christian Priest: So that this Conceit renders every Man's Christianity precarious and uncertain. I know not how far you may be tinctur'd with these Principles, but hope you will allow me, that he who is baptiz'd by a *Dutch* Presbyterian, may be as much a Christian as he that is baptiz'd by a *French* Midwife: Which is sufficient for my present purpose.

Ans. To return to the Objection of the Church's Danger, 'tis own'd, that the Government of the establish'd Church in *Holland* is Presbyterian; but then it must be consider'd, they never attempted to obtrude their Model upon us; they don't look upon their particular Discipline as absolutely necessary to Salvation, nor do they condemn those that differ from them; they look upon the Church of *England* as a Sister-Church, and pay a due Regard unto Her. To give some Instances.

In the Reign of King *James* the First, when the Peace of their Provinces was very much disturb'd by the *Arminian* Controversies, they sent to that King, desiring that some of our *British* Divines might be permitted to come over and consult with those of other Reform'd Churches, in order to compose these unhappy Differences. Accordingly the then Bishop of *Lundaff*, with the Doctors *Davenant* and *Hall*, afterwards Bishops of *Sarum* and *Exeter*, were sent over by the said Prince, with other eminent Men (b); These met with the Divines of *Holland* and *Germany* at the famous Synod of *Dort*, where they voted and gave their Suffrages with the rest: So that at that time the Churches of *England* and *Holland* look'd upon each other as Members of the same Body. Nor have the latter, to this very day, receded from that charitable Temper.

You have not forgot the Danger which our Church was really in, under the Administration of King *James* the Second, when

(a) Histoire de l'Edit. de Nantes, tome 3, part 2. p. 400.
Synodi Dordrecht. p. 10.

(b) Vid. Acta

when her Bishops were imprison'd, when an illegal Commission was set up, prepar'd to execute the Vengeance of enrag'd Papists, upon all the Clergy in the Kingdom. In that Distress did we not implore the Assistance of the *Dutch*? Were they not the Instruments (under God) of rescuing our Ecclesiastical and Civil Liberties, whilst the *French* offer'd their Troops to enslave us? And can it be a Question, who were the Church's truest Friends, they who actually sav'd it from impending Ruin, or these who would fain have compleated its Destruction?

I have one or two Instances more of that Respect which is shown in *Holland* to our Common-prayer. The *Dutch* have consented to the erecting a stately Church in *Rotterdam*, in which the *English* Liturgy is to be read to such *British* Merchants and Traders as reside in that Town. And private Contributions not being sufficient, Our Parliament, this last Session, gave 2500 *l.* for the compleating that Structure (a). When the Bishop of *Bristol* arriv'd at *Utrecht*, as Her Majesties Plenipotentiary, the States offer'd his Lordship the use of one of their publick Churches in that City, for the celebration of Divine Service according to the Rites and Usage of the Church of *England*: And, pray what greater Deference could be paid to his Lordship's Character, or to those Forms of Devotion that are us'd by him?

Let us next see whether your new Friends the *French* have such venerable Thoughts of your Church and Liturgy as you imagine: In the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, there was a Book publish'd in Latin by *Sanders*, a famous Jesuite, with this Title, *The History of the English Schism*. A Book full of Lies and impudent Falshoods against the Church of *England*. Abundance of these Calumnies you may find confuted by Bishop *Burnet*, in his History of the Reformation. This Book of *Sanders's* was, some time since, translated into French by Mr. *Maucreix*, Canon of *Rheims*, and printed with the Approbation of the present French King, and a Royal Privilege for the sole Impression of the Book. The second Volume carries this Title in its Front, *The Schism renew'd, and chang'd into the Heresie of Calvin by Q. Elizabeth* (b). This, I think, is a Demonstration that they make no manner of difference between a True-blue Churchman and a Calvinist or Presbyterian: They look upon 'em both as cursed Hereticks, and consign 'em over to the burning Lake, without the least distinction.

Du-

(a) Annals of Qu. Ann, vol. 10, p. 372.
 rerre, Tom. 2, p. 1.

(b) Histoire du Schisme d'Angle-

During the heat of the late Civil War, K. *Charles's* Queen, who was a Daughter of *France*, thought it expedient to retire into that Country : " The late King, her Husband, had appointed a Chaplain of his own, Dr. *Cofins*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Durham*, to attend her Majesty for the constant Service of that part of her Household, the number of her Protestant Servants being much superiour to those who were Roman-Catholicks. An under-Room in the *Louvre* out of any common Passage, had been assign'd for their Morning and Evening Devotions, the Key whereof was committed to the Chaplain. This continued some time ; but at last an Order came, that the Room should be no more apply'd to that Purpose ; and, that the French King would not permit the exercise of any other Religion in any of his Houses than the Roman-Catholick (a). By this you may perceive, that in the Apprehension of those Pharisaical Bigots, the very reading of your Liturgy, tho' in an obscure corner, has such a contagious Air with it, that it infects and pollutes the most spacious Palace. I shall present you with one Instance more, and that a very modern one : The Town of *Dunkirk* was, this last Summer, deliver'd into the hands of the *English* ; the *French* Soldiers being all drawn out of it, there were none but *English* remaining in it. In this Citadel there is a Chapel, which the *French* make no use of, nor have they now the least Occasion for it ; upon this, our Garrison took possession of it, and had Divine Service, according to the Church of *England*, perform'd in it ; but as soon as the Court of *France* had notice of it, Orders were sent to demand it, and we were oblig'd to quit the same, and take up with an old sorry Storehouse (b) : An Indignity that *English* Spirits would have resent'd at other times, but we are now in too good a Humour to be sensible of an Affront, unless it comes from *Holland*. When our Soldiers die in *Dunkirk*, they are not allow'd Burial in a Church-yard, the Dust of Hereticks profaning that sacred Ground. By this you see, that tho' the flattering *Monseurs* may compliment and caress you for their own Ends, yet the truth on't is, they detest and abhor your Prayers, and use your dead Bodies like the Carcase of a Dog, and, as much as in 'em lies, send your Souls to the Devil. These, Sir, are your new Allies ; these are the Men for whose sake you drink Confusion to the *Dutch* ; these the Men, from whose Friendship and Protection you expect Security to your Church and Common-prayer-book.

3 Obj:

(a) *Clarendon's Hist.* vol. 3, p. 304. (b) *Political State for Octob.* 1712, p. 247.

3 *Obj.* The next Objection against the Conduct of the States, is this, That *they permitted their Subjects, even during the War, to have an open Trade with France, by which they grew rich whilst we were impoverish'd.*

Now, as to the Matter of Fact, 'tis true, that a great many Ships sailing with French Passes did take in Wine and Brandy at *Bordeaux, Rochel*, and other places, and sell 'em again in *Holland*: This is confels'd, and yet I am not without hopes of satisfying you, that this Matter deserves not so great a Noise and Clamour as has been made about it.

1 *Ans.* I would in the first place recommend it to your Consideration, that our Circumstances are vastly different from those of the *Dutch*, and that we stand not in need of foreign Liquors, as they do: You, Sir, have your Cellar crowded with *October*, and may drink a Bumper to the Church and Queen out of the Product of your own Land; but 'tis otherwise with the poor *Hollanders*; they have no Liquors to drink, but such as are imported from other Countries, or the Grain that makes 'em; nay, they have not so much as good clear Water of their own: Pray then from whence should they be supply'd? Not from the *Rhine*, as formerly, the poor *Germans* inhabiting the Banks of that noble River being forc'd to leave their Vineyards uncultivated, to beat their Pruning-hooks into Swords and Spears, to defend their own Throats from an inhuman Enemy; not from us *Britains*, we love the Juice of Barley too well our selves to spare much to others. So that these People seem to be under a necessity of importing *French Wine*, unless you would have 'em content with souping Puddle out of their own Ditches. I might add, that their foggy Air and ill Diet renders 'em the more excusable: I grant, that a Chop of your Mutton, or a Slice of Roast-beef, may sit pretty warm and comfortable in a Man's Stomach, tho' wash'd down only with Small-Beer; but were you to dine with a Dutchman upon raw Cabbage, or a Platter of cold Salad, you would be apt to esteem a Glass of *Bordeaux*, or bright *Champeign*, as very requisite to correct the Crudities of such a Meal. The Observation of Sir *William Temple* is pretty suitable to my present purpose, speaking of these People; "Their great foreign Consumption, says he, is *French Wine* and *Brandy*, but that may be allow'd 'em, as the "only Reward they enjoy of all their Pains^(a). To all which I might add, that by these Liquors, brought from *France*, Our
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(a) Observations on the United Provinces, p. 209.

Armies in *Flanders* were supplied : And had you lain but one *September* Night in the Trenches, up to your Knees perhaps in Dirt and Mud, you would not think a Dram or two of *Nants* ill bestow'd upon those brave Fellows, who are every moment looking Ten thousand Dangers in the Face.

2 *Ans.* But if nothing of this Nature could be pretended, yet we could not justly exclaim against them for Trading with the Enemy, because we have done the same Thing our selves. One of the first Acts made by this Parliament, was to give leave for the Importation of *French* Wines. Now may the *Dutch* say, if they did ill, why did we follow them, if not, why do we condemn them? When the War was first proclaim'd, 'twas against King *Philip*, as much as King *Lewis*, and it began with burning the *Spanish* Galeons at *Vigo*. Notwithstanding which, our Merchants traded to *Bilboa* and other Places, with which we were as much in War as with any Town in *France*: To which I might add, that the *English* living in *Ireland*, have, during the whole Course of the Wars, had an open and free Trade to *France*, importing *Wine* and *Brandy* in exchange for *Beef* and *Butter*. This I have been assur'd of by Gentlemen living all the Time in *Dublin* and *Waterford*, that it was known to every Body and conniv'd at by the Government. I must appeal to you, whether we have any Reason to curse and damn the States-General for suffering their Subjects to Trade with *France*, when the Subjects of her *Britannick* Majesty have done the very same thing, and that in as open and publick a manner as the other.

4 *Obj.* The next, and I think the most popular Objection against the *Dutch* is this, viz. that tho' we came generously into the War to help them in their Distress, yet *they have thrown all the Burden of it upon our Shoulders, which they themselves would scarce touch with one of their Fingers; that they have rook'd us of our Money, but done little or nothing to promote the Common Cause.* This is that Prejudice which has made the deepest Impression on the Minds of the Common People. Profit and Loss are things by which they are most sensibly affected. Do but allure them with the Prospect of easing them of their Taxes, and they will run into the most destructive Schemes; do but confidently affirm, that they have been cheated of their Coin by such or such great Men, their Rage is presently kindled without waiting for a Proof, or expecting any Evidence. Thus you may remember in the Reign of King *William*, the Impatience of the People under Taxes, together with a groundless Clamour rais'd against that Prince, as if he had transported the Treasures

fures of the Nation into *Holland*, constrain'd him, contrary to his own sense of things, to precipitate a Peace with *France*, whereasthe carrying on the War till the King of *Spain's* Death, and the expending 8 or 10 Millions *then*, would have sav'd the Nation 50 Millions *since*.

But to give a direct Answer to this Objection, I will undertake to prove, (1.) That the *English* were as much concern'd to enter into the War, as the *Dutch*. (2.) That they maintain'd more Soldiers against the Common Enemy than we did. (3.) That their Taxes lie incomparably heavier upon them, than ours do upon us. (4.) That they have not drain'd us of our Gold and Silver.

I *Ans.* In the first place, I affirm, that *England* was as much concern'd to enter into the present War as *Holland*. This I shall prove to you by the Authority, not of the second and third Parliament in this Reign (you will object against those as Men of Antimonarchical and Republican Principles) but of the present House of Commons, and the first chose after her Majesty's Access to the Crown, who in every Session brought in the *Occasional Bill*. I hope therefore you will allow the Members of these Senates to be Men of Loyal Principles, and True Churchmen. But we will first consult the Queen's Declaration of War, in which, amongst several other Reasons for her engaging, she assigns this following: "The French King has, to other Violence, added a great Affront and Indignity to Us and Our Kingdom, in taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of *Wales* King of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; and has also influenc'd *Spain* to concur in the same Affront and Indignity, as well as in his other Oppressions (a). So that we have been fighting to keep a Protestant Queen upon the Throne; and this is a thing we are more interested in than any other Nation in the World. A few Months after this, the House of Commons had Occasion to Compliment Sir *George Rook*, upon his great Success at *Vigo*; accordingly their Speaker, now Lord High-Treasurer of *Britain*, made him a very eloquent Harangue, in which he has this Expression, "The Wealth of *Spain*, and Ships of *France*, are, by this Victory, brought over to our juster Cause (b.) Now if the War was just, 'twas necessary, for War always brings with it such a Train of Calamities upon Mankind, that nothing but unavoidable Necessity can justify any Prince or People engaging in it. In the latter end of that Year, the Commons presented an Address to her Majesty, desiring her to insist

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(a) Annals of Queen ANN, vol. 1, p. 30.

(b) Ibid. p. 147.

upon it, with the States General, that a stop be put to all Correspondence with *France* and *Spain*; which, say they, "Your Commons are humbly of Opinion, is so absolutely necessary for carrying on the *just* and *necessary* War wherein your Majesty is engaged (a.) The present House of Commons make use of the same Expression in their humble Representation presented to her Majesty on *March* the 4th last; having mention'd the Reason and Motives which engag'd this Nation in a War against *France*, and particularly for *assisting the States General*, who had lost their Barriers, they thus proceed, "As these were the *just* and *necessary* Motives for undertaking this War, so the End propos'd to be obtain'd by it were equally wise and honourable (b.) Now *Necessity* is the most forcible of all Arguments. The *Dutch* themselves could not possibly be induc'd by a stronger Motive. And in the Opinion of two Parliaments, in both which the Whigs made a very sorry Figure, we lay under an absolute Necessity of engaging in this War, and by Consequence were as much oblig'd to carry it on with Vigour as any of the Confederates: For 'tis most certain, that if ever *Holland* sinks under a *French* Power, it unavoidably draws *England* after it.

2 *Ans.* I am next to prove, that the States General maintain'd many thousand Soldiers more than we did against the Common Enemy, tho' we lay under the same Necessity of opposing him that they did. To clear up this Assertion, I shall present you with a most Authentick Evidence, 'tis an Estimate of the Forces furnish'd by Her Majesty on the one hand, and the States General on the other, for the Service of *Flanders*, as laid before the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary *St. John*: By this Account it appears, that, including 7000 *Prussians* and *Hessians*, for whom her Majesty paid only Bread and Forrage, the Queen maintain'd 72197 Men. On the other hand, the States General, including 7000 *Prussians* upon the same Terms with us, maintain'd 129458 Soldiers (c.) Now if you deduct the lesser Sum out of the greater, there remains 57261: So that the *Dutch* had in *Flanders*, this War, Fifty seven thousand two hundred sixty one fighting Men more than the *English*. I am apt to think, that in *Spain* and *Portugal* the Queen might keep in pay some 15 or 16 thousand Men more than the States; but this is far from making the Numbers equal. Besides, the States were at the Charge of all the Powder and Ball consum'd in those

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(a) Annals of Queen ANN, vol. 1. p. 171. (b) Appendix to Annals of Queen ANN, vol. 10. p. 91. (c) Political State, &c. for May, 1712. p. 379, 380.

those many Sieges that were made by the D. of *Marlborough* for 8 or 9 Campaigns, which was a most prodigious Expence, not easily to be computed. 'Twas at their Cost that the Fortifications of the Towns thus taken were repair'd, and their Magazines fill'd. To all which I have this Consideration to add, that if you consult any *Book of Geography*, or any *Map of Europe*, you will find that the Dominions of her Britannick Majesty are twenty times as large as those of the States General; their seven Provinces are commonly reckon'd no bigger than our four Western Counties. 'Tis true, these Provinces are fuller of Towns and Villages than most Counties in *England*; but then the City of *London* is three times as populous as *Amsterdam*, the greatest City belonging to the States. This is evident by the Bills of Mortality, which in the former amount in the most healthy Years to about 20 thousand, whereas in the latter, they seldom amount to more than between 6 and 7 thousand. Nay, Sir *Will. Petty*, who was a very ingenious Gentleman, and pretended much Skill in Political Arithmetick, undertakes to make it out, that the People of *London* are two thirds as many as those in all the Towns and Villages of *Holland* (a.) I can hardly agree with this Gentleman in his Calculation. But without doubt, the *Dutch* must unite many of their biggest Cities before they can equal her Majesty's Metropolis in Number of Inhabitants. By this time I hope you may be satisfy'd that you have no Reason to quarrel with the *Dutch*, as if they withdrew their Shoulders from the Burden, when, the Truth on't is, they actually maintain'd more Soldiers against the Common Enemy than we, tho' the War was as necessary for our safety as for theirs, and tho' their Territories bear no manner of proportion to those of her British Majesty.

3 *Ans.* This will appear yet more evident, if we consider that their Taxes are incomparably heavier than ours: To prove this Assertion, I will first produce the Testimony of Sir *Will. Temple*, K. *Charles* the Second's Ambassador at the *Hague*, a most accomplish'd Statesman, and one who wrote before the fatal Distinction between Whig and Tory was found out, and then give you a particular Specimen of some of their Impositions. Sir *William* tells us in general, "That there is an Immenity of Taxes throughout the whole State (b.) That they are oppress'd with the most cruel Hardship and Variety of Taxes that was ever known under any Government. That the Excise [upon all Commodities] is so great and general, that he
"hath

(a) *Present State of the Universe*, Edit. 2. p. 63. (b) *Temple's Observations on the United Provinces*, p. 108.

“ hath heard it observ’d at *Amsterdam*, that when in a Tavern a
 “ certain Dish of Fish is eaten with the usual Sauce, above 30
 “ several Excises are paid for what is necessary to that small
 “ Service *. I must leave it to your sedate Thoughts, whether
 this be the Description of a People whose Circumstances are
 more easie than the rest of their Neighbours. For your further
 satisfaction on this Head, I shall instance in a few of their many
 Taxes ; the Particulars I present you with are taken out of a
 Book I have by me, entitled, *The present State of the United
 Provinces*. You must understand then, that besides what we call
 the Land-Tax, which is heavier with them than with us, they
 pay Excise for every thing they eat, drink, use, or enjoy.

‘ The Impost upon all Corn ground in the Mills in *Holland*,
 ‘ which every-body pays, without exception, amounts to 5 *l.* 5 *s.*
 ‘ for every Quarter of Wheat, to half as much for Rye, to 35 *s.*
 ‘ for Barley and Oats (†). I suppose that by *Quarter*, my Author
 means a *Quarter of a Last*, which makes about 20 Bushels. This
 seeming to me a very extraordinary Article, I have consulted on
 this Head some Gentlemen of Sense and Learning, who have
 liv’d in *Holland*, by whom I am assur’d, that ’tis generally com-
 puted there, that the Duty on all Bread-Corn is equal to the
 prime Cost. To proceed.

The Excise on Beer is as follows : First, the Brewer pays
 12 *d.* a Barrel, private Families pay 20 *d.* more, and Victual-
 lers or Retailers pay another 20 *d.* French Wines pay 6 *d.* a
 Stoup, other Wines twice as much : Butter pays 6 *s.* a Barrel,
 Tobacco 10 *d.* a pound, Fish 20 *d.* a Pannier, and Soap 11 *s.* a
 Barrel : Every Horse above 3 Years old pays 2 *d.* a Month ;
 every Horn’d Beast above that age, 3 *d.* a Month : Every Coach
 pays 10 *s.* a Year, and every little Bark 20 *d.* All Cattle, Sheep
 or Hogs that are kill’d, pay One Penny in Seven of the Money
 they are sold for : All Wood made use of for Fuel pays 1 Pen-
 ny in 8 of what it cost : Every Master pays 20 *d.* a Head yearly
 for each Servant that he has in his Family, male or female : All
 Ships, Lands, and Houses that are sold by one Man to another,
 pay to the Government a 40th Penny of what they are sold for :
 Hangings and Household-stuff pay 1 Penny in 9 ; and Woollen
 Cloaths, a 4th part of their Value (a). In one word, the *Dutch*
 pay Excise for Salt, Candles, Lead, Lime, Coals, Stones ; there’s
 not a Turf or Log of Wood in their Chimneys, nor an Herb or
 Onion in their Gardens, but what pays a Duty (more or less) to
 the States. My Author assures me, “ that a Cow of 9 Years
 “ old,

* *Observations on the United Provinces*, p. 114. † *Ibid.* p. 227. (a) *Present
 State of the United Provinces*, p. 143, to p. 148. (b) *Ibid.* p. 239.

“old, if it be sold for 5 *l.* will have paid above 6 *l.* to the States;
 “and, that there is never a Dish comes to Table, but has paid
 “Excise above twenty times (a). These are the Impositions
 that our Neighbours are subject to in Times of Peace, which
 in such a War as this, are rais’d to a degree hardly to be be-
 liev’d: I have read and heard, from such Men and Authors as
 deserve Regard, that Land and Houses, at this time, pay 10 or
 11 Shillings in the Pound of their intrinsick Value.

You will be apt to ask, it may be, how ’tis possible for Peo-
 ple to bear up under such heavy Pressures, such Loads as the
English would certainly sink under. To this I answer, ’Tis
 their extraordinary Industry and Parsimony that enables ’em to
 support such prodigious Taxes. A Burgher of *Amsterdam* will
 dine contentedly on a Red-Herring, when a Citizen of *London*,
 of the same Condition, will scorn to sit down at Table without
 a Surloin of Beef or a couple of Capons before him. Sir *William*
Temple tells us, that “ ’tis a common Rule amongst them for
 “every Man to spend less than he has coming in, be that what
 “it will; and, that if a Man’s Expence equals his Revenue, it
 “discredits a Man among them, as much as any vicious or pro-
 “digious Extravagance does in other Countries (b); so that Fru-
 “gality is become Honourable amongst them (c). Another
 Thing that reconciles them to these excessive Impositions, is that
 Assurance which they have, that their Money is laid out for
 the good of the Community. The Salary of a Burgomaster of
Amsterdam is but 500 Guilders a Year, which amounts not to
 50 *l.* Sterling (d). Nor was it ever known that they, who have
 the disposal of Offices in that Republick, took any Money on
 that Occasion (e). “The prime Ministers of State are oblig’d
 “to no sort of Expence, more than ordinary modest Citizens
 “in their Habits, their Attendants, their Tables, or any part of
 “their Domestique (f). Sir *William* never saw the two grea-
 test Officers belonging to their State, the Vice-Admiral *de Rui-
 ter* and the Pensioner *de Wit*, with above One Servant apiece
 in their Train, but most usually on foot and alone in the Streets,
 like common Burghers (g): And this was the general Fashion
 among all the Magistrates. This makes the People part cheer-
 fully with their Coin, when ’tis not made use of to fill the Cof-
 fers or maintain the Equipages of particular Persons. Upon the
 whole, when you reflect upon the small Extent of this Repub-
 lick, their maintaining above 57000 Men in *Flanders* more than
 we did, with those heavy Taxes which they submit to, I doubt
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(a) *Temple's Observations*, &c. p. 143. (b) *Ibid.* p. 140. (c) *Ib.* p. 80.
 (d) *P.* 80. (e) *Ib.* p. 81. (f) *Ibid.* p. 113.

not but you will readily confess, that they are the bravest People in the World ; that they have made the most prodigious Efforts for the common Liberties of *Europe* that ever any State of like Dimensions did ; and, that they deserve our Praises and Encomiums, rather than our Curses and Execrations.

4 *Ans.* The next Observation I propos'd to make on your 4th Objection was this, That the *Dutch* have not drain'd us of our Coin. 'Tis own'd, that a great deal of Gold and Silver has been exported to pay our Armies in *Flanders*, tho' nothing comparable to the Clamour that hath been rais'd about it ; but this could by no means be avoided in carrying on that War, which in the Opinion of this present *House of Commons* was absolutely necessary. The Case in short was this, we must spare some of our Money, or lose all our Lands. Besides, the Armies were for the most part paid by Bills drawn on Merchants in *Amsterdam* and other places : And the *Dutch* purchasing of us many Hundred thousand Pounds-worth of our Manufactures every Year, will bring back again the Coin that has been exported on that occasion. But that the Nation has not been so exhausted as is pretended, is evident to a Demonstration, by those Millions of Money that were these two last Years thrown into the public Lotteries ; 3 Millions 600000 *l.* were propos'd to be rais'd that way the last Summer, and no sooner were the *Books* open'd, but the whole Sum was immediately subscrib'd, as a great deal more would have been, had there been but Room. The true Reason why Money is so scarce among ordinary trading People is, that the Demand for our English Manufactures is lessen'd by War and Pestilence abroad ; and our Rich Merchants and Monied Men chuse rather to throw their Cash into public Funds than employ it in Trade, or put it into Tradesmens Hands.

5 *Obj.* Another Prejudice against the *Dutch*, which the Partisans of *France* have been very industrious to infuse into Mens Minds, is this, That *their Success in Flanders has render'd 'em too potent and imperious : That should they be allow'd the Barrier which they expect, they might maintain 50000 disciplin'd Troops therein, the Neighbourhood of which would be dangerous to the Church and Monarchy of England : That they must by no means be advanc'd higher, nor France reduc'd lower, lest the Balance of Power should be destroy'd.*

To remove this Prejudice, I hope to make it appear, that it is ground'd upon Misinformation, and is purely owing to the Malice of some, and Ignorance of others. I confess, it were to be wish'd that no standing Forces were kept on foot in Times of Peace, by any Potentate in *Europe* ; this would be the safest

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Expedient for us, but what is not to be expected: And as there is no Spot of Ground in all the World so full of fortified Towns as *Flanders*, so numerous Garrisons will be constantly kept in these Towns; nor is it in our power to prevent it. The *English* will not be at the Expence of providing Magazines, and maintaining Soldiers in them, the House of *Austria* cannot, and therefore of necessity they must be possess'd by the *French* or *Dutch*. That which I at present undertake to prove is, That (1.) tho' the *Dutch* were possess'd of more of those strong Towns than ever yet they demanded, their Power to mischief us would be incomparably less than that of the *French* King. (2.) That a secure Barrier in *Flanders* is necessary to the Safety of *England* as well as *Holland*. (3.) That the attempting a Conquest on us is inconsistent with the Constitution of a *Dutch* Republick, but agreeable with the Genius and Nature of the *French* Monarchy. And, (4.) That the former can have no Pretence to invade us, when the latter may.

Ans. I am to prove, That the Power of the *Dutch* to do us Mischief is incomparably less than that of the *French*. This will appear if we compare the one with the other, as to the Extent of their Dominions, the Greatness of their Revenue, and the Number of their Forces kept on foot, both in Times of Peace and War.

We will first consider *France* and *Holland*, as to the Extent of their Dominions. The Rule which I shall govern my self by in making this Calculation is the *Atlas Geographicus*, it being the latest Piece of Geography that we have, and a Collection out of the best Authors who have written on that Subject. I will consider the Length and Breadth of each Province in the *United Netherlands*, and then multiplying one by the other, we may know how many square Miles there are in the whole, and see what proportion this bears to the Kingdom of *France*.

	Square Miles.
<i>Holland</i> is computed 80 Miles long, 40 broad, making (a) 3200	
<i>Zealand</i> 30 long, 17 broad, (b) 0510	
<i>Utrecht</i> 30 long, 25 broad, (c) 0750	
<i>Gelderland</i> and <i>Zutphen</i> 50 long, 48 broad, (d) 2400	
<i>Overijssel</i> 60 long, 40 broad, (e) 2400	
<i>Groningen</i> 46 long, 24 broad, (f) 1104	
<i>West-Friesland</i> 40 long, 25 broad, (*) 1000	
<i>Dutch Brabant</i> 55 long, 31 broad, (†) 1705	
<i>Dutch Flanders</i> 31 long, 13 broad, (g) 0403	

So that the whole comprehends of square Miles, 13472

(a) *Atlas Geographicus*, vol. 1, p. 866. (b) Vol. 2, p. 893. (c) Ib. p. 897.
(d) P. 900. (e) P. 908. (f) P. 912. (*) P. 915. (†) P. 920. (g) P. 924.

These are all the Dominions the States-General have in *Europe*, except 2 or 3 scattering Towns, which have no Territories belonging to 'em worth regarding. Let us next see the Dimensions of the Kingdom of *France*: *La Crose* reckons it 250 Leagues in length and breadth (a); *La Forrest*, and others cited by the *Atlas Geographicus*, make it as much, or more (b); *The Present State of France* makes a modester Computation, which I shall follow, and reckons its length and breadth to be 200 Leagues, or 600 Miles *. This Number multiply'd by itself, produces 360000 square Miles. Now if you divide 360000 by 13472, the Quotient is 27; so that the Kingdom of *France* is Seven and twenty times bigger than all the Territories possess'd by the *Dutch*.

If it be objected, That *France* is not in all places 600 Miles broad, the same may be said of each of the *United Provinces*. Thus I have reckon'd *Holland* 40 Miles broad, when in many places 'tis not above 25; and you can consult no Map, in which the Disproportion between the two States will not appear greater than I have represented it. I confess, were *France*, like the parched Desarts of *Arabia*, or the frozen Lakes of *Lapland*, a wild uncultivated Wilderness, my Argument would conclude very little; but *France* is a populous Country, full of great Towns and Villages, and a rich and fruitful Soil, containing 36441 Parishes (c), above three times as many as there are in *England* and *Scotland*; nor has the greatest City in *Holland* half so many Inhabitants as *Paris*. So that you may as well suppose that a Gnat should swallow a Camel, as that the *Dutch Republick* should devour the *French Monarchy*.

We will next consider the Revenues of these two States, which are not improperly stil'd, *The Nerves and Sinews of War*. Sir *Will. Temple* informs us, that the Revenue of the seven Provinces amounts commonly to 21 Millions of Guilders, which is something less than 2 Millions Sterling (d). 'Tis true, in the present War they have rais'd near 5 Millions; but this is little, compar'd to what the Grand Monarch collects within his spacious Territories; his Revenues, in 1695, amounted to more than 15 Millions and a half of our Money (e); nor is it likely that they will be diminish'd, now, when (to use the Words of the present *House of Commons*) he hath Usurp'd the *Spanish Monarchy* for his Grandson, (f) the Riches of the *West-Indies* will flow into his Coffers, more than into any other Prince's.

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(a) Descript. of *France*, p. 2. (b) *Atlas Geogr.* vol. 2, p. 979. * P. 2. (c) *Atlas Geogr.* vol. 2, p. 125. (d) *Observations, &c.* p. 227. (e) *Atlas Geogr.* vol. 2, p. 130. (f) App. to *Annals*, vol. 19, p. 91.

I am next to consider the Forces maintain'd by these two States in Times of Peace and War. As for the *Dutch*, Sir *Will. Temple* tells us, That in the Year 1670, when they enjoy'd a Universal Peace, their standing Forces were 26200 Men (a). 'Tis true, in their Memorial publish'd last Summer, they reckon that, after the Peace of *Reswick*, they kept in Pay 44992 Men (b), but then they complain of it as a Hardship, which the Necessity of their Affairs forc'd 'em to submit unto, the K. of *Spain* being in an ill state of Health, and the Great *Lewis* waiting an Opportunity to seize that whole Monarchy. I will then take it for granted, that after the Conclusion of a Peace they may keep up 45000 Regular Troops, which is the utmost they ever did. I have already observ'd, that during this War they maintain'd near 130000 Men: But tho' this be a most prodigious Effort for so small a State, yet it bears but a small proportion to what the Grand Monarch is capable of doing.

If we make a Calculation of his Forces, we shall find, that in the last War they were computed to amount to 100000 Horse, and 300000 Foot (c). Nor is there any other Potentate in *Europe*, if in the whole World, able to bring such an Army, and so well appointed, into the Field. But perhaps you will be ready to imagine, that in Times of Peace this Lion couches in his Den, with his Claws pared, and his Teeth fallen out of his Head. It may not therefore be unsuitable to my present Purpose to examine what Forces he maintains when he has no War lying heavy on his hands; I shall make my Calculation from *The present State of France*, printed in the Year 1687. When that Kingdom had no Quarrel with any of its Neighbours, his most Christian Majesty had at that time in his pay 102 Regiments of Infantry (d). These Regiments consisted, some of more, and others of fewer Batallions, and every Batallion was compos'd of 15 Companies, and 1 of Grenadiers, in all 16 Companies (e). Now, if we reckon 50 Men in a Company, and 2 Batallions and a half in a Regiment, the whole will amount to 204000 Men. Of these Regiments there were six *Swiss*, who had not above 1000 Men a-piece, and 2 of the Guards, for which reason we must deduct 8000, so there remains 196000 Foot. He had moreover at that time in constant Pay 40 Regiments of Cavalry, of which 12 consisted of 12 Companies a-piece, amounting in all, reckoning 50 to a Company, to 7200 Men; the other 28 Regiments consisted of

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(a) *Political State for May*, p. 358. (b) *Atlas Geograph.* vol. 2. p. 131, 132.
(c) *Present State of France*, p. 364. (d) P. 366. (e) P. 364.

eight Companies a-piece (a), making up 11200; in all 18400 Horse. Besides all these, he had 13 Regiments of Dragoons, which, supposing 'em on the same foot with the Cavalry, will amount to 5200. So that in the midst of a profound Peace he had in Pay of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, an Army of 219600 Men. 'Tis probable that the number of Soldiers in Regiments and Batallions *now*, may be varied from what 'twas *then*; but this was the state of Affairs in 87. Nor is the Difference material between one Batallion of 16 Companies, and two of eight a-piece. Upon a Review of the whole matter, I appeal to your own Reason, whether 200000 French, who are our very next Neighbours, may not be more capable of doing us a Mischief than 45000 Dutch-men, remov'd at a greater distance from us: And are not these admirable Politicians, who are for aggrandizing the *French*, and bringing the *Dutch* lower, in order to keep the Balance even?

2 *Ans.* I am next to mind you, that a strong Barrier for the *Dutch* in *Flanders* against *France*, is necessary for the Safety of *England* as well as *Holland*. This may be demonstrated by Reason and Authority, and here I must desire you to look back upon the former Paragraph, and consider what a prodigious Number of Troops that Kingdom maintains in times of Peace. On the other hand, you know very well, what an Aversion both the Parliament and People of *Great Britain* have to a standing Army, as a thing destructive of their Liberty and Freedom. A small Acquaintance with Affairs must needs convince you, how unable an undisciplin'd Rabble is to withstand a Body of regular Troops. So that our Security lies in being Masters at Sea. This is what we, in Conjunction with the United Provinces, may still be. But should the *French* King be once possess'd of *Flanders*, he may easily surprize and conquer *Holland*. Nor is it possible for that small Republick to withstand Him. Being once possess'd of the *Dutch* Towns and Harbours, He is by Consequence Master of all the Ships and Naval Stores that are laid up in 'em. And having once united the Fleets of *Holland* with his own, 'tis a vain thing for us to pretend any longer to the Dominion of the Seas. He may then pour in above an Hundred Thousand Veteran Troops upon us from all Quarters: Nor will it be possible for us, without a Miracle, to withstand 'em. So that in truth we are as much concern'd to hinder the *French* from over-running *Flanders*, as he that dwells at one End of a Street is to quench those Flames that are raging at the other. For as Sir *William Temple*

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(a) *Atlas Geograph.* vol. 2. p. 359.

very well observes, “ if *France* were once Master of *Flanders*, “ the Body of that Empire would be so great, and so entire, so “ abounding in People and Riches, that whenever they found “ or made an Occasion of invading the united Provinces, they “ have no Hopes of preserving themselves by any Opposition “ or Diversion (a). And if they be ruin’d one Year, we are undone the next.

This was the Opinion, not only of the Antimonarchical, Republick Whiggs, but of K. *Charles* the Second’s long Parliament, who, on *Feb.* the 15th, 1676, represented to his Majesty, “ that his People were much disquieted with the manifest Danger arising to these Kingdoms by the Acquisitions of the French “ King in the *Spanish Netherlands* (b). Tho’ this had a very harsh Sound in the Ears of both King and Courtiers, yet the House of Commons continued harping on the same String, and accordingly on *May* the 23d they Address’d His Majesty again to the same Purpose, and tho’ for this they received a Reprimand, and were commanded to adjourn themselves, yet, no sooner had they leave to sit again, “ but they besought the King “ to make no Treaty with *France*, whereby the French King “ should be left in Possession of any greater Power or Dominion than was left Him by the *Pyrenean Treaty* (c). This, Sir, was the Sense of that Parliament, which turn’d the Non-conformists out of their Livings, and banish’d them five Miles from Corporations: Which made People swear, that ’twas not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, or those Commission’d by him. And therefore I hope you will allow them to be Sound Churchmen and True Loyalists. The *Examiner* not being able to object Republican Principles to this House of Commons, as he does to others, pretends, in Answer to this Authority, that the French, in their new Plan of Peace, are ready to relinquish all their Acquisitions in the *Netherlands*, made since the aforesaid Treaty, except eight or nine Towns. But had not this Author intended to impose upon his Readers, he would have told you, that these eight or nine Towns are some of the noblest Fortifications in the whole World; that they have a large Tract of Ground, with many Scores of great and populous Villages dependant on them. Particularly the French have, since the *Pyrenean Treaty*, possess’d themselves of *St. Omer*, *Cambrai*, *Bouchain*, *Douay*, *Valenciennes*, *Conde*, *Maubeuge* and *Dinant*, to which *Aire* and *Lisle* must be added (d). If you consult the

(a) *Temple’s Observations*, p. 80. (b) *Hist. of England*, vol. 3, p. 309. (c) *Ibid* p. 360. (d) *Atlas Geogr.* vol. 2, p. 131, 132.

the *Gazetteer*, you will find, that five or six of these are, for Strength and Spaciousness, scarce to be equal'd. They are, in truth the Keys of *Flanders*, and King *Charles's* Loyal Parliament (as full of Pensioners as it was) would never have given that Man thanks who should have wrested any of these out of the Hands of their Confederates, to hang 'em at the *French* King's Girdle.

The necessity of a *Barrier*, or a Chain of strong Towns in the *Low-Countries*, to hinder the *French* from surprizing *Holland*, has been acknowledg'd by Her present Majesty, not only when under the Influence of a Whiggish Ministry, but since they have been quite discarded. Thus she was pleas'd to tell her Parliament this last Session, That she look'd upon her own Interest as *inseparable* from that of the *States-General* (a). Must not these Men then be Enemies to Her Majesty's Interest, who are for weakning that with which hers is so inseparably united? Have we any Reason to envy the *Dutch* the best Security they can obtain, when our own Safety is bound up with theirs? The present *House of Commons* speak yet more directly to the Point in Hand, when in their Humble Representation presented to Her Majesty this last Summer, and printed by the Speaker's Order, they affirm in direct Terms, " That the Succession and " Barrier are two Points of the *greatest Importance* to both Nations (b). i. e. to *Britain* as well as *Holland*. Now if such a Barrier be of the last Consequence, I leave you to judge who are the best Friends to the Queen and Kingdom, they who insist upon it that this Barrier should answer its own Design and End, be Firm and Strong, not easily broken thro', or those Gentlemen who are for insisting upon none at all, or such a Weak precarious one as the *French* King shall be pleas'd to grant his Neighbours.

I might observe to you, these Declarations of the Queen and her great Council are a Confutation of two parts in three of all the *Examiners* that have been written. The profess'd Design of that Weekly Libel, is to perswade the World, That the War was engag'd in us out of meer Levity and Wantonness; That the Whiggs, as he would wittily express it, squander'd away Millions against Stone-Walls in *Flanders*, like Boys at Span-farthing; and that *Dutch* Garrisons there will be dangerous to the Church and Monarchy here. On the other Hand, our Parliament affirms, That the War was absolutely necessary, and that the getting these Fortresses out of the Hands of the *French*, is a Point of the *greatest Importance* to our own Safety.

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(a) *Annals*, vol. 10, p. 282.(b) *App. to Annals*, vol. 10, p. 101.

I hope you will allow the Representatives of the Nation to deserve more Regard than a Mercenary Scribler.

I know it has been urg'd, that the whole Empire is concern'd to keep the *United Netherlands* out of the hands of *France*, and why should we be at any Expence for them? I acknowledge this to be the Interest of his Imperial Majesty, and I make no question, but he will do all that he is able to prevent so great a Mischief to his Family: But then the Emperor may be involv'd against the *Turks* or *Poles*, and so not able to help them. The *German* Princes may be quarreling one with another; or some of 'em may be brib'd to take Part with *France* against their own Country; which was the Case of the two perfidious Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* this very War. Besides, if the Temporal Princes should be cautious of aggrandizing that Power which may deprive their Children of their Hereditary Honours and Estates, yet there are in *Germany* a great many Bishops, who are Absolute Sovereigns within their respective Districts, and these having no lawful Issue to inherit their Dominions, will less regard the Liberties of their Country, and may be more easily induc'd to join the *French* Monarch in so glorious a Design as the Extirpation of Hereticks, when by doing so they may come to be Popes and Cardinals in this World, and (as they imagine) Saints in the next. This was actually the Case of the *Dutch* in 1672, when their two next Neighbours, the Bishops of *Cologne* and *Munster*, join'd actually with the *French* in invading their Dominions, and that with such Success, that their Deliverance from utter Ruin was next to a Miracle. These things consider'd, I hope you will allow me, that we have not been Fighting these Nine or Ten Years barely for the *Dutch*, but for our own Security, as well as theirs.

3 *Ans.* The next thing I undertook to prove to you was, that we have no reason to apprehend an Invasion from *Holland*, because the Constitution of their Government is not fitted for making of large Conquests. "It can't properly be call'd a Commonwealth, as Sir *William Temple* observes, but rather a Confederacy of Seven Provinces, united together for their mutual Defence, without any Dependance one upon the other (a). Nay, the great Cities in each Province are so many distinct Republicks; their Magistrates exercise a Sovereign Jurisdiction, levy Money, and give their Consent to making War and Peace. Their Government is fram'd and model'd to defend themselves, but

(a) Observations, &c. p. 75.

but not to invade others. Had they a Power to conquer *Great Britain*, they would never agree amongst themselves, to which of the Seven Independent Provinces we should belong. We can never imagine, that the Burgomasters of *Amsterdam*, *Leyden*, &c. would exhaust themselves, and impoverish their Cities to make their General a great Prince; for this can be the only Issue of such an Undertaking. On the other hand, should the *French* King subdue these Islands, he might send over a Lord-Lieutenant to *London*, as Her Majesty now does to *Dublin*. I flatter my self, that the Considerations I have offer'd will convince you, that our only Danger can be from that Quarter.

4 *Ans.* This will appear more evident, if you consider, that there is no one Person in *Holland* who pretends a Title to the *British* Diadem. On the other hand, the present Dauphin, who if he lives a few Years longer, will be King of *France*, has the *Royal Blood* of *England* in his Veins, being Lineally descended from King *Charles* the Martyr, and may live long enough to be the very first in what our *Nonjurors* call the *Right Line of Succession*, and to enjoy that Title to these Kingdoms which (as they say) *Proximity of Blood* will give a Man, in defiance of any Acts of Parliament that are or can be made. (Supposing the Pretender an Impostor) Her present Majesty is the only Legitimate Offspring of all K. *Charles's* Sons; and therefore the next in *Blood* to him, are the Descendants of his only Daughter the Princess *Henrietta Maria*. That Lady has one Daughter now living, the present Dutches of *Savoy*, whose eldest Daughter was Mother to the Dauphin of *France*: So that there are only four Persons who are nearer by *Blood* to the Crown of *Great Britain* than he is, *viz.* Her present Majesty, who is not like to be succeeded by any of her own Issue, the Dutches of *Savoy*, and her two Sons; so that should these two Princes die in their Minority, or without lawful Issue, the next K. of *France*, upon the Death of the Queen and his Grandmother, will be the first of the Royal Family of *England* descended from K. *Charles* the Martyr. In these Circumstances he may publish a *Manifesto* to the World, pretending, that as he is 30 Degrees nearer by *Blood* to the Crown of *England* than the Family of *Hannover*, so he has a Divine Right, which no Act of Parliament can supersede. To this End he may cite the famous University of *Cambridge*, declaring solemnly, in the Year 1691, "That an English Sovereign comes to be so by a Fundamental Hereditary Right of Succession, which no Religion, no Law, no Fault or Forfeiture can alter or diminish (a). He may cite a mul-

(a) Hist. of Passive Obedience, &c. p. 109.

multitude of Loyal Addresses, presented these two last Years, plainly intimating as if they thought a Title by Descent superior to any other. And which is worst of all, his Claim may be back'd with 100000 fighting Men. I must therefore leave it to your sedate Thoughts, whether we have not more reason to be apprehensive of that Power which may have such plausible Pretences, and such mighty Armies to invade us, than the *Dutch*, who can have no such Claim to make upon us, nor such a Force to put it in execution.

I know 'tis urg'd, That the Exorbitant Power of *France* is now reduc'd within its proper Bounds; and I wish I could think my self into the same Opinion. I will not positively affirm, that the present Negotiation will leave that Prince as formidable as ever he was left at the Conclusion of any other Peace; but I will crave your Patience, whilst I compare his Gains with his Losses, and then leave you to judge. As to the first, 'tis certain, that for some hundreds of Years there has been a mighty Struggle between the Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, and a profess'd Antipathy between the two Nations; but since that, I am inform'd by the present *House of Commons*, *K. Lewis* has *Usurp'd the Spanish Monarchy* for his Grandson *. And every-body knows, if he does not directly govern it, he has a mighty Influence upon it: So that, whereas formerly he had a great Empire to oppose him in his Ambitious Projects, the same is now as ready to assist him. I hope you must allow this a considerable Advantage.

Let us next consider what he is like to lose: And here you tell me *Dunkirk* is like to be demolish'd. This, I own, will be much to the Satisfaction of our Merchants, who have been abundantly plagu'd by that Town. However, there is never a Mariner, nor Man of War, lost by this: Nor could his great Ships ever come into that Port. Again, you say, He is to deliver up *Placentia* and *Newfoundland*, and were all French Ships excluded from fishing in those Seas, 'twould be an unspeakable Advantage to these Kingdoms. But 'tis pretended by such as trade to that Place, that if the French reserve to themselves a Liberty of drying Fish in the Creeks and Bays of that Island, and on *Cape Briton*, which is opposite to it, they may undersell us in most of the Spanish Markets. But to return to *Europe*: He will be oblig'd to quit two or three little Places to the Duke of *Savoy*; *Landau* to the Empire; *Tournay*, *Menin*, *Tpres*, *Fort Knock* and *Furnes* to the *Dutch*; which, except the
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* Appendix to the Annals of Q. Ann, vol. 10, p. 91.

two last, are places of importance ; so that upon balancing Accounts, the Case stands thus : The Grand Monarch is like to lose four or five strong Towns, in exchange for twice as many Kingdoms, united to his Interest and Family.

6 *Obj.* The next Objection against our Protestant Allies is, That *they are Rivals with us in our Trade, and undermine us in our Commerce ; and, that if these Froglanders were once crush'd, the Trade of the World would be our own.* Now, that this is a Vulgar Errour, I have the Opinion of Sir *William Temple*, that most accomplish'd Statesman, who thus expresses himself : " Another common Maxim is, That if by any foreign Invasion or Servitude the State, and consequently the Trade of *Holland*, should be ruin'd, the last would of course fall to our share in *England* ; which (says he) is no Consequence, for it would certainly break into several pieces, and shift either to *Us*, to *Flanders*, to the *Hans-Towns*, or any other Parts (a). Besides, would their Ruins really enrich us, I do not see how it would be justifiable for us to pick a Quarrel with them on that account, any more than for one Shopkeeper to cut another's Throat, that he may get the greater Custom to himself.

But to come to the Matter of Fact ; I doubt not but the *Dutch*, if they could, would set up our Manufactures in their own Country ; so would the *French*, the *Danes*, or any other Nation ; as we would do the like by them. We are as much Rivals with the *Dutch* in their Spicery, as they are with us in our Drapery, and could we get Nutmeg-trees to grow in our Plantations, no doubt they would be cultivated with the greatest Care. The *Dutch*, 'tis true, are an industrious trading People, nor is it possible for them to subsist without driving that Commerce which they do ; nor have we any reason to be angry with them for pushing their Traffick as far as they are able. If we look into our own Kingdom, we shall find one Town a Rival with the other, as *Bristol* with *London*. Nay, there's never a Preferment in the Church, nor a good Post in the State, but that there are a great many Candidates or Rivals for it ; but it by no means follows, that they must cut one-another's Throat upon that Occasion. The Question is, Whether the *Hollanders* have endeavour'd to advance their own Trade and ruin ours by Treachery, Violence, or Injustice ? This is what I have not yet seen prov'd against them, and therefore can see no Reason we have to desire (much less attempt) their Ruin. Besides, I must desire you to consider, that

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it is absolutely impossible for them to rob us of the most Valuable Branches of our Trade, our *Woollen Manufactures* and our *Tin*. Could they remove the Mountains of *Mendip* or *Cornwall*, or could they transport *Salisbury* Plain, with the Flocks that are fed upon it, we might then be upon our guard against 'em; but this you will allow to be impossible, as is the making *Our Manufactures* without *Our Materials*.

I can hardly persuade my self to undervalue your Judgment so far, to attempt to prove, that the *Dutch* are better Friends to the Trade of *Great Britain* than the *French*: The latter have laid such heavy Imposts upon all our *Woollen Cloths*, that it amounts to an absolute Prohibition; they will ease you of your Guineas and Crown-pieces, but not one Piece of Drapery will they take off your hands; whereas the former bestow above a Million a Year in the Products of *Our Country*. It can therefore admit of no Dispute, which of these two are the best Friends to the *British Commerce*. 'Tis very well known, that our most valuable Trade is that which we carry on with *Spain*; 'tis *This* brings Gold and Silver into the Kingdom; *This* is what the *Dutch* cannot rob us of, neither can they make any Thing to supply the place of our Serges and Long-Ells. On the other hand, the *French* may send their Linsey-woolsey Stuffs to *Cadiz* and the *West-Indies*; and I wish they may not be found to be the Nation most favour'd, engross the Riches of *America* to themselves, and our *Woollen Manufacture* may not in time be prohibited by *K. Philip*, as it has been by his Grandfather.

7 *Obj.* Another thing made use of to render the *Dutch* odious is, the Cruelties exercis'd by them upon some *Engliskmen* in *Amboyna*, a little Island in the *East-Indies*, about Ten thousand Miles distant from us. The Fact in short was this, the *Dutch* Governour of that Fort seiz'd upon five or six *Englisk* Factors in the Town, confiscated their Estates, and put them to a cruel Death. Therefore say our *Modern Libellers*, the *Hollanders* are a parcel of barbarous Villains, and deserve no Quarter from us. To this I answer,

1 *Ans.* As far as I can learn, 'tis very uncertain whether these Men are innocent or guilty Persons. The *Dutch* Governour affirm'd, That they had form'd a Conspiracy, in conjunction with several *Indians*, to cut his Throat, massacre his Countrymen, and seize upon his Effects and Garrison for themselves. On the other hand the *Englisk* say, That this was a Sham-Plot,
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contriv'd for no other reason, but to extirpate the *English*, and engross the Spices of that Island to themselves. Now which of these is the true Account, will never perhaps be decided till the Day of Judgment. But supposing the *Objection* true, this was transacted near an hundred Years since, and I know no Authority we have to execute Vengeance upon the third and fourth Generation: Nor ought the Actions of a particular Man to be imputed to a whole Nation, unless it can be made evident, that they approv'd his Conduct.

2 *Ans.* I have One Thing more to represent unto you, That some of our own Countrymen have committed far greater Barbarities in the *West-Indies*, than ever the *Dutch* are suppos'd to have done in the *East*, and that too in the Memory of the present Generation. You may please to remember, that tho' we had no War with *Spain* during the Reign of K. *Charles II*, but a most advantageous Commerce, yet there were a parcel of Fellows in the *West-Indies*, call'd *Bucaniers*, who liv'd by Rapine and Plunder, and exercis'd all manner of Cruelties upon such *Spaniards* as fell into their Hands, whilst the Governours of *Jamaica* gave Countenance and Protection to these Pirates, who spent their Money in that Island as profusely as they gain'd it unjustly.

The Adventures of Captain *Morgan* are very remarkable, who led several Bands of these *Desperado's* over the Isthmus of *Darien*, where they surpriz'd *Panama*, situate in the *South-Sea*, a City consisting of several Thousand Houses, all which they burnt to the Ground. The Inhumanities exercis'd upon the Inhabitants of that Worthy Town, are such as surpass Imagination, not to be read without a weeping Eye and a bleeding Heart. No Age, Sex or Condition was spar'd; on the Ladies of the Town they first satiated their Lust, and then their Cruelty. If they met with any, who, as they suspected, had conceal'd their Treasures, they us'd the most exquisite Torments to extort a Confession from them. They cut off their Noses, their Ears, &c. twisted Cords about their Foreheads till their Eyes were ready to fall out of their Skulls. "After this execrable manner, says my Author, did many of these miserable Prisoners finish their Days; this being the common Sport and Recreation of these Pirates (a). And Captain *Morgan*, the Commander of these brutish Cannibals, was rewarded, not with a Halter, but a Knighthood. I presume you would think it very unjust in the *Spaniards*, should they conclude from this
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(a) Hist. of the *Bucaniers*, vol. 1, part 3, p. 62, 63.

Instance, that the *English* only wait for an Opportunity to plunder their Houses, to murder their Persons, and to ravish their Wives and Daughters. And I must leave it to your Candour, whether we have any Reason to object the Cruelties of *Amboyna* to the *Dutch* Nation in general, when some of our own Countrymen have been guilty of far greater Outrages at *Panama*, and against a People that were secure, and never did any Injury.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavour'd what I can to remove those causeless Prejudices you have conceiv'd against the *Dutch*. I am not so vain as to think I can inform my Superiours, nor so arrogant as to prescribe to them. I have no Reason to suppose that our *Governours* have any Inclination to quarrel with the *Dutch*. However, the Wisest and Greatest of Men are sometimes forc'd to comply with a *Popular Humour*, against their own Sense of Things. Should the Partisans of *France* so far prevail, as to possess the *Common-People* with an Opinion that *Holland* must be crush'd, as an inveterate Enemy to our *Church* and *Monarchy*, they may the next Summer chuse Representatives that embrace the same Sentiments with them, and then it may not be in the power of a Wise and Able Ministry to interpose, and prevent the Ruin of us all. That which I have aim'd at in this Essay, is to disabuse the *Common-People*, to set Things in a clear Light, to satisfy you and your *Country* Neighbours, that you are more Oblig'd to the *Dutch* than to the *French*, for the keeping your *Poor* from starving, and the Price of your *Wool* from sinking; and that it can never be your Interest to commence a War with your most sincere and constant Friends, as soon as you have obtain'd a Peace with your intriguing and tricking Enemies.

7 JUL 66
I am,

with all Respect.

